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ACTION MEMORANDUM

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O: D - M. (Mutopur
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FROM

REPRODUCED AT THE NATIONAL ÁRCHIVE

PM - Reginald Bartholomew
ARA - William G. Bowdler

CHILEAN AND ARGENTINE PARTICIPATION IN U.S. NAVAL EXERCISE UNITAS XXI 1980

Issue for Decision

-- Whether the Department of State should concur in a DOD invitation to the Chilean and Argentine Navies to participate in the 1980 U.S. naval exercise UNITAS.

Essential Factors

For the last twenty years, the U.S. Navy has made an annual cruise around the South American continent conducting exercises at sea with naval and air forces in the hemisphere. DOD seeks our concurrence in the attached telegram asking Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Uruguay, Venezuela and Chile to participate in conferences, beginning in March, which will plan the June-October 1980 cruise.

PM concurs in inviting all participants; ARA and S/P agree to invite all but Chile; HA agrees to all except Chile and Argentina.

DOD/PM Position on Chile

PM supports DOD's view that the exclusion of Chile from UNITAS would exceed the specific Letelier case sanctions approved by the President and could lead to a suspension of military-to-military relations which was not contemplated in that decision.

This would be injurious to our security interests because of the important contribution made by the Chilean Navy to defense of the sea lanes which support our swing strategy. It would also reduce our influence over regional political developments -- especially our ability to deter Chilean military actions if the Beagle Channel dispute flares up again.

GDS 2/12/86

To exclude Chile would break a twenty-year precedent of annual invitations to all maritime Rio Treaty allies regardless of varying political circumstances and would pose serious logistical problems for the U.S. Navy, because of the added fuel and lost time consumed in doubling back through the Panama Canal to reach the East Coast countries.

 $\,$ PM therefore recommends that Chile be invited to join UNITAS XXI.

ARA, HA and S/P Position on Chile

ARA, HA and S/P believe it would be inconsistent for us to invite Chile to join in UNITAS XXI so soon after we have taken punitive actions in response to the Chilean decision in the Letelier case. Such punitive action focused to a great extent on U.S. relations action focused to a great extent on U.S. relations the FMS pipeline, the phasing-out of the Milgroup, the holding up of export licenses for Chilean Armed Forces). UNITAS participation usually involves high level representational events, public performances by a U.S. Navy band and considerable press coverage. Going forward with such cooperative joint military exercises would symbolize a close relationship contrary to the intended effect of our sanctions.

PM, ARA, and S/P Position on Argentina

As DOD points out, the U.S. extended an invitation to Argentina for the UNITAS exercise in each of the last three years, despite U.S. concern over human rights. Since last year's invitation, human rights conditions in Argentina have improved significantly.

As General Goodpaster reported to the Secretary, he suggested joint exercises as among possible steps to foster cooperation and found considerable Argentine interest. Goodpaster also discussed concerns over Soviet activity in the South Atlantic.

As a result of the Goodpaster mission, Argentina agreed to cooperate with the United States in limiting its grain sales to the Soviet Union. There is strong evidence that Argentina (unlike Brazil) is restricting sales.

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Linking the UNCHR to the UNITAS invitation would not affect Argentina's positions in that forum. Our instructions to the US delegation in Geneva already provide for a variety of possible actions the USDEL might take in that forum with respect to Argentina.

A decision on whom to invite needs to be taken now. It has already been delayed well beyond the normal time -- December -- for the extension of invitations, and further delay would give participants inadequate planning time.

HA Position on Argentina

HA believes we should not extend a formal invitation to participate in the UNITAS planning conferences until we are able to ascertain more precisely the extent of Argentine cooperation in restricting grain exports to the U.S.S.R. and whether Argentina will live up to its commitment to us not to oppose the establishment by the UN Human Rights Commission of a universal procedure to deal with the question of disappeared persons. The U.S. Delegation to the UNHRC reported on February 7 that "Argentina has been quite blatant in its politicking in the HRC (and has) taken positions obstructing the Commission's progress. USDEL is disturbed by Argentina's close alliance with the U.S.S.R. in support of positions clearly detrimental to U.S. human rights efforts and objectives." (GENEVA 1975, attached). We expect to be in a position to make more conclusive judgments within about two weeks.

We see nothing to be lost by postponing a final decision for two weeks. The planning conferences will not begin until mid-March, and according to the draft telegram (attached) from the Chief of Naval Operations there appears to be considerable flexibility in scheduling these "round-robin" planning conferences. On the other hand, once the invitation is extended it would be extremely difficult to withdraw it without causing additional problems.

HA believes that, if Argentina is to be invited, it would be wise to limit that portion of the exercises to purely operational matters, i.e., exercises at sea and brief refueling stops in port. We would oppose scheduling the usual high-visibility shore activities, such as band performances, rpresentational dinners and dances, and press interviews, because of the political

symbolism involved. We doubt that the Argentines would have a problem limiting their participation; last year the Argentine Navy specifically requested us to follow a low-key, low visibility approach. (e.g., 79 Buenos

Aires 7112, attached).
Recommendations
Concur in an invitation to Chile to join in UNITAS XXI, (supported by PM, opposed by ARA, HA AND S/P).
Approve Disapprove
Concur in an invitation to Argentina to join in UNITAS XXI (supported by PM, ARA and S/P; opposed by HA)
Approve Disapprove
Recommend postponing until February 25 a decisio on whether to invite Argentina to participate in UNITAS Planning Conferences. (Supported by HA; opposed by ARA, PM, S/P).
Approve Disapprove
If Argentina is to be invited, its participation should be limited, as in 1979, to at-sea exercises and refueling, with no public relations or representational activities ashore. (supported by HA; opposed by PM, ARA and S/P)
Approve Disapprove
Drafted:PM/ISO:RBurke;MPStrutzel;ARA/AND/CH:PWhitney; ARA/ECA:GJWhitman

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	ENHANCING UNITAS EFFECTIVENESS. IT 15, THEREFORE, PROPOSED THAT THE
	UNITAS XXI PLANNING CONFERENCES CONTINUE THIS PROCEDURE.
	2. {() IT ALSO IS PROPOSED THAT UNITAS XXI ATTEMPT TO EMPHASIZE
.	HENISPHERIC SOLIDARITY THROUGH MULTILATERAL PHASES.
	3. {U} IN ORDER TO FACILITATE TIMELY ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE UNITAS
	XXI PLANNING CONFERENCE IN MAR/APR/MAY BU. ACTION ADDRESSECS ARE
	REQUESTED TO DELIVER THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO HOST NAVY CNG/CINC
	SUBJECT TO THE CONCURRENCE OF THE U-S. AMBAZZADOR. QUOTE:
	FROM: CHIEF OF NAVAL OPERATIONS
	TO: CNO/CINC OF ARGENTINA, BRAZIL, CHILE, COLOMBIA, ECUADOR, PERU.
; .	URUGUAY, VENEZUELA
	UNCCAS
:	UNITAS XXI PLANNING CONFERENCE
:	1. UNITAS XX IS NOW HISTORY. THESE TWENTY YEARS OF VOLUNTARY
:	COMBINED OPERATIONS HAVE BEEN A CLEAR EXPRESSION OF CUR MUTUAL
į ,	COMMITMENT AND INTEREST IN FREEDOM OF THE SEAS AND HEMISPHEPIC
S	DEFENSE.
3	2. AS WE BEGIN OUR THIRD DECADE OF THESE MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL
: : : :	COMBINED OPERATIONS, IT SEEDS APPROPRIATE THAT WE TAKE THIS
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HERITAH SIZAHAHA OT YTINUTROPHO	ERIC SOLIDARITY.
3. I WOULD PROPOSE THAT UNITAS	XXI COMMENCE IN MID-JUNE AND PROCEE
IN A COUNTER-CLOCKWISE DIRECTION	AND CONSIST OF SEVERAL PHASES WITH
MULTILATERAL REPRESENTATION AND I	PARTICIPATION TO ENHANCE OUR
CONBINED OPERATIONAL CAPABILITY	AND TO HIGHLIGHT HEMISPHERIC
OLIDARITY. IDEALLY, UNITAZ XXI	MIGHT CONSIST OF A COMBINED TASK
FORCE WITH UNITS FROM ALL PARTIC	IPATING COUNTRIES. FOR MANY VALID
REASONS, IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE	E FOR ALL COUNTRIES TO PROVIDE UNIT
FOR THE ENTIRE OPERATION. HOWEVE	CR. IT MAY BE POSSIBLE FOR ECOUNTRY
TO PROVIDE SOME UNITS FOR SOME O'	THER PHASESEITHER PRECEDING OR
FOLLOWING THEIR BILATERAL NATION.	AL PHASE. THIS WOULD REQUIRE, OF
COURSE, AGREEMENT BY ALL NAVIES	INVOLVED. I AZK YOU TO GIVE
CONSIDERATION TO THE FEASIBILITY	amo possibility of operating some
((COUNTRY)) UNITS IN UNITAS XXI	AS PART OF THE IMMEDIATE PRECEDING
	ION TO THE NORMALLY SCHEDULED U.S./
{{COUNTRY}} BILATERAL PHASE.	·
	HELD FOR THE PAST SEVEN YEARS
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INCOMING TELEGRAM

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. C - ENTIRE TEXT

2. USDEL LEARNED (TELCON RUSER-COHEN). OF RECENT GOA DEHARCHES TO INFLUENCE US POSITION ON 1583 COMMUNICATION . AGAINST ARGENTINA (SEE REF A). CONTRARY TO ARGENTINE . IMPORMATION, THE WORKING GROUP HAS NOT YET FINISHED ITS WORK HOR ISSUED ITS REPORT. IT IS NOT SCHEDULED TO COMPLETE ITS WORK UNTIL THE WEEK OF FEBRUARY 18. THERE-AFTER THE COMMISSION IS EXPECTED TO TAKE UP THE 1583 CASES, LIKE ARGENTINA, USDEL HAS REARD RUMORS ABOUT SOME OF THE GROUP'S DECISIONS TO DATE BUT SINCE THEIR WORK IS NOT YET COMPLETED AND THEIR REPORT NOT ISSUED WE DO NOT TAKE THESE RUMORS AS FINAL. THE GOA IS CLEARLY EMBARKED ON A CAMPAIGN TO INFLUENCE THE WORKING GROUP PRIOR TO THE COMPLETION OF LTS REPORT AND ALSO TO INFLUENCE COMMISSION CONSIDERATION OF THE REPORT. USBEL CONSIDERS THIS INTERFERENCE WITH THE EFFECTIVE AND FAIR FUNCTIONING OF THE PROCEDURES, THE WORKING GROUP, AND THE FLEXIBILITY STATES SHOULD HAVE TO DECIDE ON THE MERITS OF THE CASE AFTER HEARING THE WORKING GROUP'S RECOMMENDATIONS.

3. IN FACT, ARGENTINA HAS BEEN QUITE BLATANT IN ITS POLITINING IN THE HRG. THUS, THE GOA TO DATE HAS TAKEN POSITIONS OBSTRUCTING THE COMMISSION'S PROGRESS IN THE NUMAN RIGHTS FIELD. ARGENTINA WAS THE ONLY REPEAT ONLY LATIN AMERICAN STATE TO VOTE WITH THE SOVIET BLOC AND AGAINST THE WEST TO PREVENT THE CONMISSION FROM SENDING A TELEGRAM TO THE USSR DI THE SAXHAROV CASE (SEE REF B). THE VOTE WAS A VERY CLOSE ONE, 15 (SOVIET BLOC) TO 13 SO THAT THE ARGENTINE VOTE COUNTED. OTHER LATIN AMERICAN STATES EITHER JOINED THE VEST IN THE VOTE (COLOMBIA, COSTA RICA, URUGUAY) OR ABSTAINED (BRAZIL, PERU, PAHAMA). MOST OF THE 15 WERE SOVIET ALLIES, DEMONSTRATING WHAT IS COMMONLY UNDERSTOOD ANDING HAC DELS TO REFLECT A DEAL COOKED BETWEEN ARGENTINA AND THE USSR TO PROVIDE MUTUAL SUPPORT. THE WEST DID SUCCEED HOWEVER IN ENSURING THAT THE COMMISSION WOULD TAKE UP THE SANHAROV CASE PUBLICLY AT A LATER TIME UNDER ITEM 12 THE SAME ITEM ARGENTINA WILL COME UNDER). FUTURE VOTES ON SAKHAROV, KAMPUCHEA, AFGHANISTAN AND IRAN WILL PROVIDE FUTURE TESTS OF ARGENTINA'S POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS GENERALLY.

4. THE ARGENTHE DELEGATION ALSO MAS DELAYED AND ULTIMATELY MAY SLOC PROCRESS ON CERTAIN PROVISIONS OF THE TORTHER CONVENTION, AND MER MIGH PRIORITY THEM FOR THE US. ALTHOUGH THE VORTING GROUP ON THE CONVENTION AGAINST IORIZUPE MAS REACHED THE STACE WHERE ADOPTION OF ALL ARTICLES EXCEPT PERMAPS THOSE ON AN IMPLEMENTATION MECHANISM 15 POSSIBLE AT THIS MAG SESSION, THE ARGENTHEE REPRESENTATIVE WITH CUBAN MELP) OFTEN MAS SINGLEHANDEDLY

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DELAYED OR OBSTRUCTED THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKING GROUP.
THIS COULD HOLD UP THE CONVENTION'S CARLY COPPLETION.
THERE USUAL TACTICE IS STUBBORN HISISTEMES ON ARGENTHE
AMENDMENTS WHICH ARE OBVIOUSLY (INCOMPATIBLE WITH CARINIAG
WORKING GROUP OR WHICH WEAKEN OR HARROW MODEL PROVISIONS
IN THE HAQUE (AIRCRAFT HIJACKING), MONIFER, (AIRCRAFT
SABOTAGE), NEW YORK PROTECTION OF DIPCOMISTS AND
MOSTAGES CONVENTIONS. SOWIET REPRESENTATIVE IN WORKING
GROUP, INITIALLY COOPERATIVE NOW IS SHOWNING SIGNS OF
BEING ENCOURAGED BY ARGENTIME TACTICS TO SECONE
OBSTRUCTIONIST, IN PARTICULAR BY PROPOSITIE GOUALLY
WINDSCHPFALE "COMPRONIESS" ON ARGENTIME AMENDMENTS.

S. IN SUMMARY, USDEL IS DISTURBED TO DATE BY ARGENTINE PERFORMANCE AT CHR ON HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS AND BY ITS CLOSE ALLIANCE WITH THE USSR IN SUPPORT OF POSITIOUS CLEARLY DETRIMENTAL TO US HUMAN RIGHTS EFFORTS AND DBJECTIVES. THESE POINTS CERTAINLY SHOULD BE RAISED IN ANY FUTURE DEHARCHES THE GOA SHOULD HAKE TO USG. ABOUT OUR POSITIONS. FYI. IN COMPARSATIONS BETWEEN USREP SHESTACK AND COLOMBIA AND COSTA RICAN REPS, VIEW EXPRESSED THAT WEAKENING OF US POSITION ON ARCENTINA WOULD BE SEEN AS DEFECTION FROM US COMMITMENT TO NUMBER RIGHTS.

6. CONVERSATIONS OF HELMAN AND SHESTACK WITH ARGENTINE PERM REP AND HRC REP WILL BE REPORTED SEPTEL. HELMAN



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ACTION ARA-15

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F R 2920387 AUG 79 FM AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES TO CHE WASEDE PRIORITY **CTF 138** SECSTATE WASHDC 2162 INFO JCS WASHDC CINCLANT NORFOLK VA USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS CZ COMNAVEORCARIB ROOSEVELT ROADS P R UNFIDENTIAL BUENOS AIRES 7112 F.O. 12065: GDS 8-28-85 (BECK, W.R.) OR-O

TAGS: MILI MARR AR SUBJ: UNITAS XX (11)

1. (C - ENTIRE TEXT)

2. ARGENTINE NAVY ON AUGUST 27 OFFICIALLY INFORMED CHUSMILGP OF INTENTION TO PARTICIPATE IN UNITAS XX. ARGENTINE NAVY FURTHER REQUESTED THAT NO PUBLICITY FE CIVEN TO THEIR PARTICIPATION FRIOR TO COMMENCEMENT OF JOINT U.S.-AFGENTINE OPERATIONS ON 25 SEP 79. 3. ARGENTINE NAVY REASONING FOR NO PRIOR PUFLICITY IS

THAT THEY WISH TO HAVE UNITAS XX FARTICIPATION BE CONSIDERED SOLELY A NAVY TO NAVY FXERCISE AND THEY EFLIFVE THAT ARTICLES IN FITHER US OR ARGENTINE NEWSPAPERS WOULD TEND TO LEND AN UNDESIRED POLITICAL FLAVOR TO

THEIR PARTICIPATIONS. 4. COMMENT: ARGENTINE MILITARY ARE STILL SMARTING CCNFIDENTIAL

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FUENOS 27112 2921252 PAGE 02 FROM PERCEIVED ATTACKS IN RECENT STATEMENTS BY STATE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN. APPARENTLY ARGENTINE NAVY FEARS PRESS SPECULATION APOUT THEIR MOTIVES FOR PARTICIPATION IN UNITAS XX COULD LEAD TO DOMESTIC CRITICISM, WHICH THEY WISH TO AVOID.

5. RECOMMEND WE CONCUR IN THEIR REQUEST FOR NO ADVANCE PUPLICITY, TO THE FXTENT THIS IS FEASIBLE.

CASTRO

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Chile Ay-Sept 1980